ARTICLE & WEB ALERT
November/December 2004

FOCUS SECTION
U.S. CONGRESS

The United States Congress is the legislative branch of the United States federal government. *"All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives,"* says the Article I, Section 1, of the U.S. Constitution. The United States Congress is bicameral, meaning that it has two houses, namely: United States Senate, the "upper house" and United States House of Representatives, the "lower house." The structure and responsibilities of the United States Congress makes it a central institution of government in the United States. This is the most important branch as it represents the will of the people, the sovereignty of the states, regulates the nations' trade and provides the defense without abusing its power.

The framers of U.S. Constitution created a strong federal government resting on the concept of "separation of powers." Throughout the Constitution is an elaborate system of checks and balances to prevent abuse and concentration of power. The basic idea of balance is that no one part of government dominates the other. And it means that the decisions that emerge from the process in which everyone has the right to participate are in a sense shared decisions, carrying with them a sense of authority and legitimacy. For example: To pass a bill into law, both houses of Congress have to pass it and the president has to sign it. The president nominates judges to the Supreme Court, but the Senate must approve them. The courts can declare both laws passed by Congress and executive actions unconstitutional. The Congress creates and funds executive branch agencies, and can create federal courts, determine jurisdiction, and remove judges. And the list goes on.

On September 17, 1787, the Constitutional Convention adopted the Congress of the United States. The first Congress under the Constitution met on March 4, 1789, in the Federal Hall in New York City. The membership then consisted of 20 Senators and 59 Representatives. It played a critical role as the body, which began to implement and interpret the new Constitution of the United States. And today, the role of Congress has expanded beyond the founders' imagination.

The 109th Congress is to be constituted in January 2005. The Senate has 100 seats electing two members from each U.S. State by popular vote to serve six-year terms. The House of Representatives has 435 seats for voting members. These seats are apportioned according to the population of each state. California, the most populous State in the country has 53 seats and seven States -- Alaska, Delaware, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming have only one representative.

The vice president of the United States is the presiding officer of the Senate. In his absence the duties are taken over by a president pro tempore, elected by that body, or someone designated by him. The presiding officer of the House of Representatives is the

Speaker who is elected by the House. He may designate any member of the House to act in his absence.

The positions of Senate majority and minority leaders are elected at the beginning of each new Congress by a majority vote of the Senators in their political party. In cooperation with their party organizations, leaders are responsible for the design and achievement of a legislative program. This involves managing the flow of legislation, expediting noncontroversial measures, and keeping members informed regarding proposed action on pending business. Each leader serves as an ex officio member of his party's policymaking and organizational bodies and is aided by an assistant floor leader (whip) and a party secretary.

The chief function of Congress is the making of laws. The legislative process is comprised of a number of steps. The work of Congress is initiated by the introduction of a proposal in one of four principal forms: the bill, the joint resolution, the concurrent resolution, and the simple resolution. All bills and joint resolutions must pass both the House of Representatives and the Senate and must be signed by the President, except those proposing a constitutional amendment, in order to become law, or be passed over the President's veto by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress.

The work of preparing and considering legislation is done largely by committees of both Houses of Congress. There are 16 standing committees in the Senate and 19 in the House of Representatives. In addition, there are select committees in each House, and various congressional commissions and joint committees composed of members of both Houses.

The membership of the standing committees of each House is chosen by a vote of the entire body; members of other committees are appointed under the provisions of the measure establishing them. Each bill and resolution is usually referred to the appropriate committee in its original form, favorably or unfavorably, recommend amendments, or allow the proposed legislation to die in committee without action.

Article I, section 8, of the Constitution defines the powers of Congress. There are the powers to assess and collect taxes -- called the chief power; to regulate commerce, both interstate and foreign; to coin money; to establish post offices and post roads; to establish courts inferior to the Supreme Court; to declare war; and to raise and maintain an army and navy. Congress is further empowered ``To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;" and ``To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof." The Congress is also vested with the other powers such as the right to propose amendments to the Constitution.

The U.S. Senate is granted certain powers not accorded to the House of Representatives. The Senate approves or disapproves certain presidential appointments by majority vote, and treaties must be agreed by a two-thirds vote. The House of Representatives is granted the power of originating all bills for the raising of revenue. However, both Houses of

Congress act in impeachment proceedings, which, according to the Constitution, may be instituted against the president, vice president, and all civil officers of the United States. The House of Representatives has the sole power of impeachment, and the Senate has the sole power to try impeachments.

According to Section 6 of Article I, members of Congress are granted certain privileges. In no case, except in treason, felony, and breach of the peace, can members be arrested while attending sessions of Congress "and in going to and returning from the same. . . ." Furthermore, the members cannot be questioned in any other place for remarks made in Congress. Each House may expel a member of its body by a two-thirds vote.

The Library of Congress is the largest repository of information for the use of the U.S. Congress. It is supported largely by funds appropriated by Congress. Over the years, it has grown to become the national library of the United States, serving all government branches and the public at large. The Library's Congressional Research Service prepares reports on any topic at the request of a member of Congress. THOMAS databases of the Library of Congress make Federal legislative information freely available to the public via Internet.

A substantially verbatim account of remarks made during the proceedings of the House and Senate is called the Congressional Record. It consists of four main sections: the proceedings of the House and Senate, the Extensions of Remarks, and the Daily Digest. This fact sheet is one of a series on the legislative process. The Office of the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, publishes programs and proceedings of the legislative process. Some of the important publications include: the Congressional Directory, the Senate Manual, the House Rules, the United States Government Manual, Congressional Bills, Congressional Committee Prints, Congressional Hearings, and the Catalog of Congressional Bills.

The relationship between Congress and the president lies at the very core of the American system of government. Under the Constitution, tension and struggle between these rivals for power is inevitable. The framers did not set out to promote gridlock between president and Congress, but they did intend that conflicting opinions in society should be considered carefully before government takes action. It is a dynamic relationship, changing with every issue, every event. Sometimes it is cordial and cooperative. Sometimes it is hostile and polarized. And sometimes it is both things on the same day, shifting with the issue under consideration.

The articles included in this section explain role of the U.S. Congress and its powers, and the legislative process.

For additional information, a webliography is presented here for your use. However, the inclusion of Internet sites other than those of the U.S. government should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein. The websites are current as of date and are subject to change at any time.

Overviews of the U.S. Congress

About the U.S. Congress
http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/politics/legbranc/abtcong.htm

Congressional Apportionment
http://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/c2kbr01-7.pdf

Congressional Profile
http://clerk.house.gov/members/congProfile.html

The Legislative Branch
http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=
106_cong_documents&docid=f:hd216.106

Legislative Process

CapitolHearings
http://www.CapitolHearings.org/

Enactment of a Law
http://www.senate.gov/legislative/common/briefing/Enactment_law.htm

Federal Legislative History Research
http://www.llsdc.org/sourcebook/fed-leg-hist.htm

Glossary of Congressional and Legislative Terms
http://www.thecapitol.net/glossary/

How Congress Works - Committee on Rules
http://www.house.gov/rules/

How Our Laws are Made
http://thomas.loc.gov/home/lawsmade.toc.html

Legislative History Process
http://www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/legchart.html

The Legislative Process
http://www.house.gov/Legproc.html

The Legislative Process on the House Floor
http://www.house.gov/rules/95-563.htm

The Legislative Process - Tying it All Together
http://www.house.gov/house/Tying_it_all.html

LLSDC Sourcebook
http://llsdc.org/sourcebook/

Issues and News

Congress.org: Issues & Action: Action Alert Search
http://congress.org/congressorg/issuesaction/alert/

Congressional Quarterly
http://www.cq.com

The Hill
http://www.hillnews.com

National Journal
http://www.nationaljournal.com

Other Roles of the Congress

Elections: The Scope of Congressional Authority in Election Administration
http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/politics/election/d01470.pdf

Foreign Policy Roles of the President and Congress
http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/politics/pres/fpolicy.htm

Highlights of House Ethics Rules
http://www.house.gov/ethics/Highlights2003.htm

Overview of the Authorization-Appropriations Process
http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/politics/legbranc/rs20371.pdf

Senate Ethics Manual
http://ethics.senate.gov/downloads/pdffiles/manual.pdf

Offices and Agencies that Support Congress

Architect of the Capitol
http://www.aoc.gov

Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress
http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp

Congress Link
http://www.congresslink.org

Congressional Budget Office
http://www.cbo.gov

Congressional Committees and Subcommittees
http://www.visi.com/juan/congress/cgi-bin/committee_list.cgi?site=ctc

General Accounting Office
http://www.gao.gov

Government Printing Office
http://www.gpoaccess.gov/about/index.html

Legislative Branch Internet Resources
http://thomas.loc.gov/home/legbranch/legbranch.html

Legislative Branch Resources on GPO Access
http://www.gpoaccess.gov/legislative.html

Library of Congress
http://www.loc.gov

Office of the Clerk
http://clerkweb.house.gov

Speaker of the House
http://www.speaker.gov/features/role.asp

Thomas: Legislative Information on the Internet
http://thomas.loc.gov

U.S. Congress
http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/index.html

U.S. House of Representatives
http://www.house.gov

U.S. Senate
http://www.senate.gov

1. 9/11 COMMISSION AND THE COURSE AHEAD

By CHRISTOPHER COX. FDCH Congressional Testimony; September 14, 2004.

While presenting his opening statement, Chairman of the Committee on House Select Homeland Security, Christopher Cox remarked on September 14, 2004, "As Chairman, I can report that this Committee has consistently pursued a legislative and policy agenda to

focus congressional attention to homeland security-related matters on preventing and preparing for acts of terrorism targeting the United States." He said that both Congress and the President swiftly recognized that neither the Executive, nor Legislative branch of American government, was organized to deal with this terrorist assault. And this Committee represents the only structural change in Congress since 9/11, undertaken specifically to deal with the threat of international terrorism to the United States.

2. THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM IN THE U.S. CONGRESS
By Judy Schneider. Congressional Research Service, May 2, 2003. 6 p.

Due to the high volume and complexity of its work, Congress divides its tasks among committees and subcommittees. Both the House and Senate have their own committee systems, which are similar but not identical. Within chamber guidelines, however, each committee adopts its own rules; thus, there is considerable variation among panels. This report provides a brief overview of the organization and operations *Decentralization* is the most distinctive characteristic of the congressional committee system. Due to the high volume and complexity of its work, Congress divides its legislative, oversight, and internal administrative tasks among committees and subcommittees. Within assigned subject areas, committees and subcommittees gather information; compare and evaluate legislative alternatives; identify policy problems and propose solutions to them; select, determine the text of, and report out measures for the full chambers to consider; monitor executive branch performance of duties (oversight); Although Congress has used committees since its first meetings in 1789, the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act (60 *Stat*. 812) set the foundation of today's committee system. The House and Senate each have their own committees and related rules of procedure, which are similar but not identical. Within the guidelines of chamber rules, each committee adopts its own rules addressing organizational, structural, and procedural issues; thus, even within a chamber, there is considerable variation among panels. Within their respective areas of responsibility, committees generally operate rather independently of each other and of their parent chambers. The difficult tasks of aggregating committees' activities, and of integrating policy in areas where jurisdiction

3. THE CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS PROCESS: AN INTRODUCTION
By Sandy Streeter. Congressional Research Service, July 29, 2003. 26 p.

Congress annually considers 13 or more appropriations measures, which provide funding for a variety of activities such as national defense, education, disaster assistance, crime programs, and general government operations, such as the administration of most federal agencies. Congress has developed certain rules and practices for the consideration of appropriations measures, referred to as the appropriations process. Generally, the appropriations process includes the annual appropriations cycle; spending ceilings for appropriations associated with the annual budget resolution; and prohibitions against certain language in appropriations measures that violate separation of the authorization and appropriations functions into separate measures. There are three types of

appropriations measures. *Regular appropriations bills* provide most of the funding that is provided in all appropriations measures for a fiscal year, and must be enacted by October 1 of each year. If regular bills are not enacted by the deadline, Congress adopts *continuing resolutions* to continue funding generally until regular bills are enacted. *Supplemental bills* are considered later and provide additional appropriations. Appropriations measures are under the jurisdiction of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. These committees control only about one-third of total federal spending provided for a fiscal year. The House and Senate authorizing committees control the rest.

4. THE HOUSE APPORTIONMENT FORMULA IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

By David C. Huckabee. Congressional Research Service, October 10, 2000. 23 p.

Apportioning seats in the House of Representatives among the states in proportion to state population as required by the Constitution appears on the surface to be a simple task. In fact, however, the Constitution presented Congress with issues that provoked extended and recurring debate. How may Representatives should the House comprise? How populous should congressional districts be? What is to be done with the practically inevitable fractional entitlement to a House seat that results when the calculations of proportionality are made? How is fairness of apportionment to be best preserved? Over the years since the ratification of the Constitution the number of Representatives has varied, but in 1941 Congress resolved the issue by fixing the size of the House at 435 Members. How to apportion those 435 seats, however, continued to be an issue because of disagreement over how to handle fractional entitlements to a House seat in a way that both met constitutional and statutory requirements and minimized unfairness.

5. CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORITY TO STANDARDIZE NATIONAL ELECTION PROCEDURES

By Kenneth Thomas. Congressional Research Service, February 14, 2003. 11 p.

Recent events surrounding the Presidential election have led to increased scrutiny of voting procedures in the United States. For instance, suggestions have been made that it may be desirable to establish national standards for issues such as the administration of voter registration, balloting, tabulating and reporting election results. This report focuses on the constitutional authority and limitations that might be relevant to attempts by Congress to standardize these and other election procedures. The Congress' authority to regulate a particular election may vary depending on whether that election is for the Presidency, the House, the Senate, or for state and local positions. Further, there may be variation in whether a particular aspect of elections, such as balloting procedures, is amenable to regulation. Consequently, evaluating the authority to establish uniform election procedures would appear to require an examination of a variety of different proposals and scenarios. Although the Constitution is silent on various aspects of the voting process, the Constitution seems to anticipate that states would be primarily

responsible for establishing election procedures. Federal authority to also regulate federal elections, however, is specifically provided for in the Constitution.

6. CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS: SUBPOENAS AND CONTEMPT POWER
By Louis Fisher. Congressional Research Service, April 2, 2003. 42 p.

When conducting investigations of the executive branch, congressional committees and Members of Congress generally receive the information required for legislative needs. If agencies fail to cooperate or the president invokes executive privilege, Congress can turn to a number of legislative powers that are likely to compel compliance. The two techniques described in this report are the issuance of subpoenas and the holding of executive officials in contempt. These techniques usually lead to an accommodation that meets the needs of both branches. Litigation is used at times, but federal judges generally encourage congressional and executive parties to settle their differences out of court. The specific examples in this report explain how information disputes arise and how they are resolved.

7. HOW BILLS AMEND STATUTES
By Richard S. Beth. Congressional Research Service, August 4, 2003, 2 p.

Many bills proposed in Congress address subjects on which previous law already exists. This fact sheet identifies and explains some common forms in which bills may express their intended relation to existing statutes. It does not present guidance for drafting legislation; for that purpose, recourse to the Office of Legislative Counsel of the Senate or House is appropriate. This fact sheet identifies and explains some forms that one may commonly see, in which proposed bills may express their intended relation to previously enacted statutes. It also suggests some implications of these different forms of expression.

8. HOW MEASURES ARE BROUGHT TO THE HOUSE FLOOR: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION
By James V. Saturno. Congressional Research Service, July 18, 2003. 6 p.

"There is no single method that the House must employ in calling up or considering proposed legislation. Article I, Section 5 of the Constitution allows each house of Congress to determine for itself the ‘‘Rules of its Proceedings,” and the House has used this freedom to provide itself several alternative procedures for raising measures for consideration. These procedures allow the House to tailor its consideration depending on the circumstances and content of the measure." This report presents a description of the five methods used to bring proposed legislation to the House floor for consideration. These methods allow for consideration as a privileged matter, under the limited privilege of a special calendar or day, under suspension of the rules, under the terms of a special rule, or by unanimous consent.

9. HOW MEASURES ARE BROUGHT TO THE SENATE FLOOR: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION
By James V. Saturno. Congressional Research Service, July 18, 2003. 6 p.

Two basic methods are used by the Senate to bring legislation to the floor for consideration. The Senate, at the majority leader's request, grants unanimous consent to take up a matter, or agrees to his motion to proceed to consider it. Because the motion to proceed is subject to debate in most circumstances, it is not frequently used. Both methods are derived from the basic premise that the Senate as a body may decide what matters it considers. The Senate may also use the same two methods to bring up executive business (nominations and treaties).

10. SPECIAL ORDER SPEECHES AND OTHER FORMS OF NON-LEGISLATIVE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE
By Thomas P. Carr. Congressional Research Service, March 19, 2002. 2 p.

House of Representative debate rules limit the length of floor speeches and requires them to be germane to pending business. A series of unanimous consent practices have evolved, however, that permit Members to address the House for specified durations and at specified times on subjects of their own choosing, outside the consideration of legislative business. The principal forms of non-legislative debate used for these purposes are special order speeches, one minute speeches, and morning hour debate.

11. A USER'S GUIDE TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD
By Mildred Amer. Congressional Research Service, July 17, 2003. 2 p.

The Congressional Record is a substantially verbatim account of remarks made during the proceedings of the House and Senate, subject only to technical, grammatical, and typographical corrections. It consists of four main sections: the proceedings of the House and Senate, the Extensions of Remarks, and the Daily Digest. This fact sheet is one of a series on the legislative process.

12. WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS: 1917-2004
By Mildred L. Amer. Congressional Research Service, July 1, 2004. 10 p.

A record 77 woman serves in the 108th Congress: 63 in the House (42 Democrats and 21 Republicans) and 14 in the Senate (9 Democrats and 5 Republicans). On November 9, 1916, Jeanette Rankin (R-MT) became the first woman elected to Congress. Rebecca Latimer Felton (D-GA) was the first woman to serve in the Senate. She was appointed in 1922 and served for only one day. A total of 220 women have served in Congress, 139 Democrats and 81 Republicans. Of these women, 187 have served only in the House; 26

have served only in the Senate; and seven have served in both houses. The figures include one Delegate each from Guam, Hawaii, District of Columbia, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Of the 194 women who have served in the House, 35 were elected to fill vacancies caused by the death of their husbands. Fifteen of the 35 were subsequently elected to additional terms. Nineteen women have been elected to fill other vacancies caused by death or resignation. Of the 19, one woman was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of another woman.

BUSINESS & ECONOMICS

13. BEST FACE FORWARD

By Jeffrey F. Rayport and Bernard J. Jaworski. Harvard Business Review; December 2004, pp. 47-57.

The article discusses how competitive advantage can be developed and maintained through the quality of relationships between companies and their customers and markets. Customer experience and service quality influence purchasing decisions. As companies have more difficulty in finding skilled frontline employees, technology offers machines that are alternatives for processing transactions and also managing human interactions. The service interface can be human, mechanical, or a combination of both. It has to have the dimensions of physical presence and appearance, cognition, emotion or attitude, and connectedness. Front-office reengineering has the objectives of compressing costs and driving growth with an increased customer-perceived value. The interface system integrates people and machines and this balance between the division of labor has to be managed. The reinvention of the front office will lead to new opportunities and value for businesses. INSETS: Touchy Subjects; I've Never Seen Them, But I Believe They Exist.

14. CORPORATE GOVERNANCE

By Ronald Berenbeim. Vital Speeches of the Day, November 15, 2004, pp. 87-89.

Berenbeim, Director of Global Business Ethics Programs, The Conference Board, says the outlook for improved business ethics in governance depends in large measure on understanding institutional and human limitations. He asserts that the lesson of the last decade is that institutional and human vigilance -- regardless of the laws on the books and directors' reputations for honesty and experience -- all but vanishes when markets go through periods of consistent rise. The market -- rather than new laws or special commissions -- is the most effective factor in behavior modification when directors and executives have found it convenient to ignore the limits imposed by sound financial and business practice, he says. However, since the market punished the guilty and the innocent equally, he proposes several measures to improve corporate governance including greater board involvement in company ethics and requiring companies to insure their financial statements.

15. HOW MARKET SMARTS CAN PROTECT PROPERTY RIGHTS
By Bharat Anand and Alexander Galetovic. Harvard Business Review, December 2004, pp. 72-79.

The authors argue that the law is often not the best defense against theft of intellectual property. In their opinion, far more effective in such cases are market-based strategies that keep pirates in port. Bharat Anand is an associate professor of strategy at Harvard Business School in Boston. Alexander Galetovic is an associate professor at the Center of Applied Economics, Department of Industrial Engineering, at the University of Chile in Santiago.

16. NO COUNTRY LEFT BEHIND
By Colin L. Powell. Foreign Policy, January/February 2005, pp. 28-35.

International development is a core national security issue, inextricably linked with democracy and security, says Secretary of State Colin Powell, summing up the foreign-policy record of the first four years of George W. Bush's presidency. Powell says the root causes of poverty are social injustice, bad government, corruption and a stifling environment for enterprise, not a lack of natural resources. The secretary also discusses illegal international migration, saying that it sustains organized criminals who peddle people, drugs and weapons, and stifle a country's ability to develop. He says Bush's focus on development is tied to his statement in the National Security Strategy written in 2002: "A world where some live in comfort and plenty, while half of the human race lives on less than $2 a day is neither just nor stable." Political attitudes, cultural "predispositions" and security conditions all affect a society's ability to develop economically, he says, with aid being a catalyst for development for the real engines of growth -- entrepreneurship, investment and trade. Finally, Powell describes the Bush administration's Millennium Challenge Account, an incentive system for rewarding countries that promote freedom of speech, broader access to credit and rule of law, and that provide people with the basic services they need to achieve prosperity. The aim of this "tough love" approach to foreign aid is aid that will eventually become an obsolete need, he says.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RELATIONS & SECURITY

17. THE FIFTH ESTATE
By Gary L. Geipel. American Legion Magazine, January 2005, pp. 22-26.

Geipel addresses the historical development and current role of think tanks in U.S. policymaking. Think tanks, the so-called "fifth estate" (joining the executive branch, legislature, courts and media as influences on public policy), are now widespread in the United States and in democracies worldwide. Mostly non-profit institutions, think tanks help to foster an intellectual competition of ideas and fill the gap between academic research and the day-to-day work of policymakers. With the proliferation of think tanks since the 1980s, Geipel writes that there is growing competition among these institutions

and that think tanks must now seek a geographic or issue-based niche, strong relations with policymakers, and an aggressive communications strategy.

18. A NEW SECURITY PARADIGM
By Gregory D. Foster. World Watch, January/February 2005, pp. 36-46.

Foster, a professor at the National Defense University, Washington, DC, argues forcefully for a new approach to security which considers environmental changes, not terrorism or weapons of mass destruction, as the most significant threats to global, national and individual security. Experts predict that environmental changes, including climate change, will result in physical and social changes in many countries, which could lead to humanitarian crises and unstable governments, impacting international security. Foster notes the minimal consideration of environmental change in U.S. government and public thinking on security during the past several years and examines the arguments used by opponents of environmental security, many of whom are in the national security community. He asserts that security is more than defense against intentional malevolent threats and should be "the primary overarching strategic aim a democracy such as ours must seek to attain." He concludes with four strategic imperatives to guide a future response to security threats.

19. POLITICAL REALISM
By Louis Klarevas. Harvard International Review, Fall 2004, pp. 18-23.

The United States must re-evaluate and modify the political theories that guided the national security leadership on the eve of September 11 if it is to be effective in deterring international terrorism in the future. Immediately prior to September 11, the administration of US President George W. Bush was operating in a more or less realist framework. Realism, however, is a worldview ill-equipped to deal with the challenges to security in the 21st century, as it greatly underestimates the critical role played by non-state actors. In the globalized world of asymmetrical hazards, one must rethink priorities to include unconventional rogue networks alongside traditional great power threats. For over half a century, realism has been the dominant paradigm in international relations. Condoleezza Rice is a realist. Her understanding of international relations is state-centric. Her policy ends are filtered through national self-interests.

20. WINNING THE NATION-BUILDING WAR
By George E. Anderson. Military Review, September/October 2004, pp. 47-50.

U.S. Armed Forces need to become more skilled and efficient in nation-building. The skills required for nation-building are very different from those necessary to conduct a successful military operation. Interpersonal communication skills and area-specific knowledge are essential for effective nation-building. Training for American Armed Forces in these fields will enable them to win the hearts and minds of the people in host

countries. Ultimately, this should lead to the establishment of a self-sustaining country friendly to the U.S.

DEMOCRACY & HUMAN RIGHTS

21. THE ONCE AND FUTURE SUPREME COURT

By David J. Garrow. American History, February 2005, pp. 29-36.

With two Supreme Court Justices past their eightieth birthday, and only one younger than 65, President Bush will at least begin the process of nominating a new Supreme Court. Garrow says that what's important is whether Bush continues the trend of the last 35 years of nominating appellate court judges, little known outside of legal circles, or whether he will revert to the earlier practice of naming better-known national figures with political experience. The Justices from the appellate courts -- both liberals and conservatives -- have been very comfortable with judicial activism, Garrow says, while the earlier, politically experienced Justices were more restrained.

COMMUNICATION & INFORMATION

22. BANDWIDTH FOR THE PEOPLE

By Robert Crandall, et al. Policy Review, October/November 2004, pp. 67-75.

High-speed access to the Internet, or broadband, could be a tremendous boon to economic growth and its market has grown dramatically over the past few years. Here, Crandall and co-authors discuss the importance of public policies toward the Internet in helping to achieve the goal of greater broadband access and stress that those policies should be of a deregulatory, not interventionist, nature as this competitive market undergoes rapid growth and technological change.

23. WEB OF INFLUENCE

By Daniel W. Drezner and Henry Farrell. Foreign Policy, November 2004, pp. 32-40.

"This article examines the practice of writing Web logs and discusses the increasing importance of the practice to journalism. Every day, millions of online diarists, or 'bloggers,' share their opinions with a global audience. Drawing upon the content of the international media and the World Wide Web, they weave together an elaborate network with agenda -- setting power on issues ranging from human rights in China to the U.S. occupation of Iraq. It was March 21, 2003 -- two days after the United States began its 'shock and awe' campaign against Iraq -- and the story dominating TV networks was the rumor (later proven false) that Saddam Hussein's infamous cousin, Ali Hassan al-Majid ('Chemical Ali'), had been killed in an airstrike. But, for thousands of other people around the world who switched on their computers rather than their television sets, the lead story was the sudden and worrisome disappearance of Salam Pax. Blogs (short for 'weblogs') are periodically updated journals, providing online commentary with minimal or no

external editing." Daniel W. Drezner is assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago and Henry Farrell is assistant professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University.

GLOBAL ISSUES

24. BATTLE SCARS: GLOBAL CONFLICTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH

By Valerie J. Brown. Environmental Health Perspectives, December 2004, pp. 994-1003.

The article focuses on the impact of global conflict on environmental health. Age-old problems still follow war--lack of food, shelter, water, and sanitation, risk of infectious diseases, and psychological trauma. But war today, in all its modern permutations, can also saddle populations with new threats from industrial and military chemicals, pesticides, and radiation. Wars are costly, too. Civil war in a poor country lasts an average of 10 years and costs $50 billion. The invasion of modern warfare into urban areas means millions of people can be rapidly displaced. In more than 80 countries landmines make land unusable and impede the post-conflict return to functioning economies and social life. Probably the most inflammatory war-related environmental health issue is that of depleted uranium, which is the remnant of uranium left after U-235 is largely removed

25. FIGHTING TERROR WITH AID: UNDERLYING CONDITIONS THAT FOSTER TERROISM

By Andrew Natsios. Harvard International Review, Fall 2004, pp. 88-89.

Natsios, Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), says there are five conditions besides simple poverty that underlie terrorism: isolation, lack of economic opportunity, weak institutions and governance, lack of financial transparency, and poor educational systems. He points out that USAID programs such as road-building projects, special programs for generating employment, capacity building, legislative reform of banking and financial systems, and improving the performance of secular educational systems are designed to combat these conditions.

26. THE IMF AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

By Devesh Kapur and Moisés Naím. Journal of Democracy, January 2005, pp. 89-102.

The IMF plays many roles in the global economy, and appears to be playing a significant-and controversial-role in influencing the global prospects of political democracy as well. Created as a financial cooperative by the Bretton Woods agreement in July 1944 and made a specialized UN agency three years later, the IMF was conceived as a major element in a battery of organizations that would help to prevent a postwar recurrence of worldwide economic depression and its associated evils by giving numerous countries a

stake in the stability and sound basic management of the whole system of international payments, finance, and trade.

27. ISLAM AND WOMEN
By Lauren Weiner. Policy Review, October/November 2004, pp.49-66.

In Middle Eastern and other Muslim countries, antipathy toward the West resolves around sex and genders every bit as mush as it revolves around globalization or the exploitation of poor countries by rich ones or infidel soldiers quartered on sacred lands. Here, Weiner examines the radical Islamist reaction to feminism, the participation of women in radical Islamist thought and political acts, governments' attempt to secularize their populations fed Islamism in the universities, the Islamic revival in Egypt, the treatment of women in Afghanistan and American feminists' role in bringing treatment to light, and an emerging Islamic feminism.

28. SAVING THE OCEANS
By Carl Safina and Sarah Chasis. Issues in Science and Technology, Fall 2004, pp. 37-44.

"The oceans have been suffering from a variety of escalating insults for decades: excessive and destructive fishing; loss of wetlands and other valuable habitat; pollution from industries, farms, and households; invasion of troublesome species of fish and aquatic plants, and other problems. In addition, climate and atmospheric changes, which many scientists link to the combustion of fossil fuels and other human activities, are melting sea ice, changing ocean pH, stressing corals, killing plankton that are vital to the marine food web, increasing coastal erosion, and threatening to disrupt Earth's temperatures in ways that will alter weather and deplete ocean life. The pervasiveness of these problems finally began to be recognized in the 1990s, symbolized by the United Nations' declaration of 1998 as the Year of the Oceans and the holding of a National Ocean Conference that same year in Monterey, California, with the president and vice president in attendance. Yet the severity of these problems remains generally underappreciated, as reflected in the inadequate and increasingly out-of- date policy responses of the U.S. and other governments."

29. THE SECURITY THREAT OF ASIA'S SEX RATIOS
By Andrea den Boer and Valerie M. Hudson. Sais Review, Summer-Fall 2004, pp. 27-43.

"Security demographics" has become a new subfield of Security Studies in recent years, as scholars have begun to envision the security implications of long-term demographic change. This subfield provides important new insight into the problem of population, social stability and conflict, but our research suggests that an additional demographic factor must be taken into account when assessing social stability and security of a state—that of sex ratios. What are the security implications for a population whose males, particularly those of the young adult population, significantly outnumber females? China

and India, as well as several other Asian states, are currently undergoing various demographic transitions, one of the most important being the increasingly high sex ratios of young segments of these populations. We argue that internal instability is heightened in nations displaying the high level of exaggerated gender inequality indicated by high sex ratios, leading to an altered security calculus for the state. Possibilities of meaningful democracy and peaceful foreign policy are diminished as a result. The high sex ratios in China and India in particular have implications for the long-term security of these nations and the Asian region more broadly."

U.S. SOCIETY, VALUES & POLITICS

30. LEARNING FOR OURSELVES: A NEW PARADIGM FOR EDUCATION

By John C. Lundt. Futurist, November/December 2004, pp. 18-22.

Education is leaving the school-house. The communications and instructional technologies necessary to make education an anytime anywhere activity rather than a place-bound schoolhouse event have been rapidly evolving for several years. John Lundt, an educational consultant and professor of educational leadership at the University of Montana, argues that learning should be taken out of the hands of antiquated school systems and put into the hands of learners.

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

31. BUILDING KNOWLEDGE FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING:THE PROMISE OF SCHOLARSHIP IN A NETWORKED ENVIRONMENT

By Thomas Hatch, et al. Change, September/October 2004, pp. 42-49.

Researchers demonstrate that new technologies such as the Internet can provide a new medium for the production and exchange of knowledge that can transform education. The authors discuss the promise, as well as the challenges, of creating multimedia applications, web-based tools and networked information systems.

32. A NEW VISION FOR NUCLEAR WASTE

By Matthew L Wald. Technology Review, December 2004, pp. 38-44.

The threat of terrorism in general and the flyover of Flight 11 in particular have reignited the debate about why dangerous fuel is still at a nuclear-reactor complex called Indian Point in Buchanan, NY and not at Yucca Mountain, the federal government's burial spot near Las Vegas, where it was supposed to be shipped beginning six years ago. Beginning next year, the first of a planned 72 six-meter-tall concrete-and-steel casks will be placed there, a configuration that adds storage capacity and thus allows the twin power plants to

keep operating. Conventional thinking holds that Yucca Mountain's problems must be solved quickly so that nuclear waste can be squirreled away safely and permanently, deep within a remote mountain. But here's the twist: with nuclear waste, procrastination may actually pay. A century would give the US time to observe progress on waste storage in other countries.